

## Message Text

PAGE 01 NATO 03929 251752Z

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2875

S E C R E T USNATO 3929

NODIS

FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY HARTMAN FROM BRUCE

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: NATO, PFOR, TU

SUBJECT: TURKISH REACTION TO CONGRESSIONAL VOTE ON ARMS SUPPLY

REF: STATE 175299

1. THERE ARE SEVERAL STEPS WE MIGHT CONSIDER IN THE NATO CONTEXT TO ATTEMPT TO MODERATE TURK REACTION TO THE CONGRESSIONAL VOTE ON JULY 24.

A. AN IMMEDIATE PUBLIC GESTURE SUCH AS YOUR SUGGESTION OF MESSAGES FROM LUNS TO DEMIREL COUNSELING RESTRAINT AND TO PRESIDENT FORD URGING FURTHER EFFORTS TO RESCIND THE MILITARY CUTOFF. I DISCUSSED THIS POSSIBILITY WITH ACTING SYG PANSA JULY 25. WE CONCLUDED THAT AS AN INITIAL STEP, INSTEAD OF SUCH MESSAGES OR AN EARLY COUNCIL MEETING ON THE SUBJECT TO WHICH WE MIGHT PUBLICLY REFER, THE NATO PRESS SPOKESMAN WOULD MAKE THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT TO THE PRESS TODAY (JULY 25):

QUOTE. ON 22ND JULY PRIOR TO THE VOTE IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES ON THE SUSPENSION OF ARMS DELIVERIES TO TURKEY, THE SECRETARY GENERAL, MR. LUNS, EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT THE VOTE WOULD BE POSITIVE AND THAT ARMS DELIVERIES WOULD BE SPEEDILY RESUMED. AT THAT TIME HE STATED THAT THIS WOULD BE IN THE INTEREST OF THE ALLIANCE AS A WHOLE AND OF THE SOUTHERN FLANK IN PARTICULAR, BEARING IN SECRET

PAGE 02 NATO 03929 251752Z

MIND TURKEY'S IMPORTANT POSITION IN THAT REGION. IT IS TO BE REGRETTED THAT THIS HOPE HAS NOW NOT BEEN FILLED AS A RESULT OF THE NEGATIVE VOTE IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES WITH THE SERIOUS DANGER OF WEAKENING

ALLIED SECURITY IN THAT VITAL AREA. UNQUOTE.

WE MIGHT RETURN TO THE POSSIBILITY OF MESSAGES FROM LUNS AT A LATER TIME WHEN WE HAVE A BETTER IDEA OF THE NEXT TURK AND US STEPS. LUNS IS IN GERMANY AND WILL NOT RETURN TO BRUSSELS UNTIL AUGUST 18. MY CONVERSATION WITH PANSA WILL BE REPORTED TO HIM TODAY, AND HE WILL BE ASKED TO VOLUNTEER TO US ANY VIEWS HE MAY HAVE ON THIS SUBJECT. ALSO, IT WILL BE SUGGESTED TO HIM THAT HE SHOULD BE PREPARED TO MAKE A STATEMENT NEXT MONDAY OR TUESDAY IF ONE WOULD BE CONSIDERED HELPFUL. I BELIEVE LUNS SHOULD NOT GO TO ANKARA OR COMMUNICATE WITH DEMIREL. HE IS ALREADY REGARDED AS PRO-TURK, AND IS DISTINCTLY PERSONA NON GRATA WITH THE GREEKS. ANY SUCH INTERVENTION BY HIM WOULD, I BELIEVE, NOT INFLUENCE THE TURKS WHO ARE ALREADY FAMILIAR WITH HIS SUPPORT FOR THEM, AND WOULD MERELY FURTHER EXACERBATE THE GREEKS.

B. BILATERAL APPROACHES TO KEY ALLIES IN CAPITALS--OR PREFERABLY BY ALLING IN NATO AMBASSADORS IN WASHINGTON. DRAWING ATTENTION TO THE MILITARY IMPACT OF POSSIBLE TURKISH REACTION TO THE CONGRESSIONAL VOTE, WE COULD REQUEST ALLIES TO URGE MODERATION ON TURKS THROUGH BILATERAL CHANNELS--AS WELL AS IN PUBLIC STATEMENTS WHICH MIGHT ALSO DEPLORE ADVERSE IMPACT OF AID CUTOFF ON SECURITY OFNALLIANCE AS A WHOLE.

C. CONSULTATIONS IN NATO. WHEN WE HAVE A CLEARER IDEA OF TURKISH REACTION, WE MIGHT STIMULATE CONSULTATIONS IN NATO ON THE IMPACT ON THE ALLIANCE OF THE ELIMINATION OR CUTBACK OF US FACILITIES IN TURKEY. THERE IS A BACKGROUND AND BASIS FOR SUCH ACTION SINCE THE TURKS INFORMED THE COUNCIL ON JUNE 25 OF THEIR JUNE 17 NOTE ON US MILITARY FACILITIES. AT THAT TIME, WE WELCOMED THE TURKISH MOVE OF INFORMING THE COUNCIL AS CONSISTENT WITH TURKEY'S POSITION THAT MEASURE TAKEN BY ALLIES WHICH AFFECT MUTUAL SECURITY ARE A MATTER OF COMMON CONCER. I BELIEVE WE COULD ARRANGE COUNCIL OR DPC DISCUSSION TO EMPHASIZE THE COMMON CONCERN OF POSSIBLE TURK ACTIONS AGAINST US FACILITIES--WITHOUT OURSELVES APPEARING TO TAKE THE LEAD IN  
SECRET

PAGE 03 NATO 03929 251752Z

INITIATING THESE DISCUSSIONS. UNFORTUNATELY, LUNS AND PERHAPS EVEN A MAJORITY OF NATO PERMREPS MAY NOT BE AVAILABLE FOR MEETINGS NEXT WEEK. BOTH THE TURKISH AND GREEK AMBASSADORS ARE ALREADY ABSENT ON VACATION.

D. IN THE LONGER TERM, NATO'S RESPONSIVENESS TO TURK CONCERNS OVER THE IMPACT OF GREEK ACTIONS ON TURK COMMUNICATIONS, REGIONAL AIR DEFENSE, OVERFLIGHTS, AND EXERCISES MAY INFLUENCE TURK RESPONSIVENESS TO NATO APPEALS FOR TURK MODERATION. PROGRESS ON SOME OF THESE CONCERNS, SUCH AS OVERFLIGHTS, WILL DEPEND ON GREEK-TURK NEGOTIATIONS AND THERE IS LITTLE SCOPE FOR DIRECT NATO ACTION. HOWEVER, IN OTHER AREAS, SUCH AS COMMUNICATIONS OR EXERCISES, A SPECIAL NATO EFFORT TO

ACCOMMODATE TURKEY MAY BE USEFUL. WE WILL BE ON THE LOOKOUT FOR SPECIFIC GESTURES WE MIGHT TAKE IN THE NATO CONTEXT REGARDING THESE TURKISH CONCERN.

2. PERSONALLY I FEEL THAT DISCUSSIONS IN NATO WOULD HAVE LITTLE IF ANY IMPACT IN TURKEY AT THIS TIME. PERMREPS WOULD REFER PROPOSALS MADE IN NATO TO THEIR GOVERNMENTS, THE NATO AMBASSADORS IN WASHINGTON WOULD, I BELIEVE, BE MORE EFFECTIVE. BUT, ABOVE ALL, UNLESS IT HAS ALREADY BEEN DONE, A POWERFUL STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT CONDEMNING THE HOUSE ACTION AND DECLARING HE WILL VIGORIOUSLY PUSH FOR RECONSIDERATION WOULD SEEM TO ME THE MOST APPROPRIATE MOVE AT PRESENT.  
BRUCE

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